

A N

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ARGUMENT

To prove the

AFFECTIONS

OF THE

People of *England*

To be the best

Security of the Government;

Humbly offer'd.

To the Consideration of the Patrons
of Severity, and applied to the present
Juncture of Affairs.

Quos ego—sed motos praefat componere fluctus.

L O N D O N:

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A N
A R G U M E N T
T o h i s o n e t p r e
A F F E C T I O N S
O F T H E
P e o p l e o f E n g l a n d

T o p r e t p e
S e c u r i t y o f t h e C o v e r t u r e

T o t h e C o u n c i l a t i o n o f t h e P a t r o n s
o f S e c u r i t y , a n y a p p l i c a t i o n t o t h e b i t e n t
J u n c t u r e o f A s s i s t .

Our gos—[redacted] in co-operation with the

T O M D O V :
P r i n t e d f o r N . Y o u n g , a t t h e P r i n t e r s i n t h e
S t u n k , 1 2 1 p . P r i c e p r

Peterborough ; or else he may
 have the Right of his Subjects, and to the
 Interest of the Subject ; in which case
 he has no more right either to the
 Power of Will to do good, than may be agree-
 able to Warwick's Doctrine : Because one
 who is only to be informed by the
 People of England to do what he can
 to be most useful, by helping the Design of
 Parliament, to his Side, is commonly called
 To prove the
 AFFECTIONS
 O F T H E
 People of England,
 Security of the Government, &c.
 WHEN a Nation is engaged in
 a Civil War, and the Prince
 becomes involved therein ;
 his Part in the Confusion is
 usually, either to maintain the just Rights
 of the Crown against the Encroachments of
 the Subject ; or to support one Part of his
 People from the Oppressions or Outrages of
 another ; or to defend his Crown from a
 Faction in his Kingdom who may set up a

Pretender ; or else he may take up Arms to invade the Rights of his Subjects, and so be himself the Aggressor ; in which last Case alone, to spare none, who have either the Power or Will to oppose him, may be agreeable to Machiavel's Doctrine : Because one Wickedness is only to be justified by another : as likewise for the same Cause that in all Disputes, That Party which hath least Justice on its Side, is commonly observed to be most violent ; as hoping, by superabundant Passion, to supply the Defect of Reason.

But in the three former Cases, it seems manifestly the Interest of a Prince to give a good Account of the Rebels, rather by reducing them to their Duty, than by destroying them by Fire, the Sword, or Gibbet. Which are a Sort of Arguments altogether as preposterous to teach Men Allegiance, as to instruct them in Religion ; and which, at long run, must make the Prince the loser, by depriving him of at least so much of the original Strength of his Kingdom, as there are Persons who suffer without Necessity ; as these Sufferers have Friends, Associates, or Well-wishers ; or, it may be, as there are Hearts sensible of Humanity.

Not that this is a Point uncontroverted : For the warm Zealots for a Government, have ever been in Appearance of different Sentiments. Their Zeal either really blinding their Reason ; or else, being artificially blown up to that height, on purpose to display it the more, and thereby to make their

their Court the more successfully. There-
fore it is, that, in a Case of Rebellion, they
breath Vengeance; think no Remedies so
good as to make clear Work, and loudly
declare, nothing less can be the Security of
a Government, than the utter Extirpation of
all who are its Enemies, in the most minute
Circumstance; or even who express any re-
gard to *Moderation*, as if *Amputation* were
the sole Remedy these Political Butchers
could find out for the Distempers of a State;
or, that they thought the only Way to make
the Top flourish, were to lop off the under
Branches.

In our present State of Affairs, the Poli-
ticians of the Coffee-houses are divided,
concerning the Treatment to be used to-
wards the open Rebels who are subdued,
and the Rebels *incognito* who may be brought
under the Lash. The far greater, that is,
the noisier Part, are for the utmost Rigor
which their Laws of *War*, or Laws of *Con-*
venience can inspire them with. Of this
Class chiefly are the Gentlemen of *Fire*, and
Casuists in red Coats. Others heartily com-
passionate the bleeding Condition of their
Country, and of Consequence, are for more
healing Methods: Whilst those whose
Phlegm and cold Blood are discompos'd,
by no Sparks of Passion or Humanity, se-
dately ruminate upon steddy sanguinary
Counsels: Counsels which shall produce Ex-
amples of a severe but necessary Revenge!
which shall rivet the King's Authority, to-
gether with that of the Ministry, and
make

make them be duly obeyed and perfectly
dreaded !

Hence that antiquated Maxim in England
Oderint dum metuant, Let them Hate so they
Fear, hath, of late Days, been revived among
us ; and hence it may happen that his Ma-
jesty, who is eminent for good Nature and
right Intentions, may be necessitated to
pursue Measures which he abhors from his
Heart ; it being a Thing not unfrequent for
the Violence of Followers to push their Lea-
ders into Dangers and Extremities, and to
overset a State, by obliging the Governors
to carry too much Sail.

For my Part, how averse soever it may
be to the reigning Humour on our Side, I
cannot but declare my Opinion to be in fa-
vour of Clemency ; as also, that at this Jun-
ture, I take Clemency to be the best Po-
litical Policy. If herein I have the Misfortune to dif-
ferent from my Superiors and better Judges,
I hope they will have the Candor to excuse
a Thing, which proceeds equally from my
Zeal for his Majesty, and my Affection to
my Country. I do not presume to dictate
to the Ministry, what or how they shall act.
I would only fain improve the little good
Nature there is in the World, which might
be a Means to deliver the Ministry from the
importunate Glamours of the Blood-thirsty :
And I would likewise, if possible, reclaim
some in my own Sphere, who being possess'd
with a Spirit of Rancour, never cease to
call out for Slaughter, Forfeitures, Attain-
ders, and *decent* Executions : An Intempe-
rance which, it is not unlikely, may precipi-
tate

pitate wiser Persons into unpopular, dangerous Courses, to say no worse; and what makes this Ferment the more likely to prevail, is hath the Shew of Policy and Interest on its Side, and the Advocates for Severity, are not without very affecting Motives to sway them in their Counsels and Actings.

First, it is represented, That there hath been a most unnatural Rebellion rais'd in these Kingdoms, with Intent to dethrone His Majesty, and in his Stead, to impose upon us a Popish Pretender: That the Rebels deserve the highest Punishment the Laws can inflict, for if a Malefactor shall be hanged for stealing a Horse, or taking a Purse up on the high Road, how much rather those, who, in attempting to rob His Majesty of his Imperial Crown, did what in them lay to involve the Nation in the worst of Miseries, Popery and Servitude?

To which I answer, That it is infinitely to be lamented, that there is so horrid a Rebellion. I am far from extenuating the Guilt of the Offenders, who, indisputably, merit to be severely chastis'd. But give me leave to add, That it is not every Thing which they deserve, according to Law, that is expedient or reputable for the Government to lay upon them. They have, in a very giddy unjustifiable Manner, expos'd themselves to a sharp Prosecution; and if they are punish'd, they have none to thank but themselves. They engag'd in a rash, desperate, unconcerted Attempt, and have succeeded accordingly; they now lie at his

Ma-

Majesty's Discretion, and the Question is, whether the Government shall shew Mercy, or take a Reverend Divine's Advice who lately exhorted from his Pulpit, *to slay Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling, &c.* I cannot positively say, that the learned Doctor applied his Text to the Times, nor would I willingly suppose him guilty of Heterodox Politicks, because that may do Mischief, tho odd Notions in Divinity may do none; but with great Submission methinks the Choice of such a Text at such a Sealon, when it might be thought to mean something, looked a little uncouth, and seemed to squint at what doth not become his Function. However, be his Sentiments what they will, I dare be bold to affirm, that as there is room for Mercy, so there is Reason for it, and that the less Blood there shall be spilt on this Occasion, the more it will be for the Honour as well as Security of the Government.

His Majesty hath it now in his Election to subdue the Rebels by the Ax and Halter, or by Royal Clemency, that will render his Authority dreadful, and but just so long secure, as it will not be in the Power of his People to subvert it. The latter will endear his Person to the Nation, and then they will neither have the Power nor Will to disturb him. It is truly Heroick to overcome the Hearts of one's Enemies; and when it is to be compassed, the Undertaking is truly Politick; such a Victory would deserve more than a Roman Triumph; And such is now presented to his Majesty by Providence, which hath hitherto remarkably appear'd

pear'd in his Favour upon many Occasions; and I think upon none more than this, that he hath now so fair an Opportunity of conquering more Enemies by one Act of Clemency, than the most successful General will be able to do in many Campaghs; an Opportunity not unlike that, whereon Henry the Fourth of France so handsomely expressed his Tenderness for his People; when at sifting the Treaty of Vervins, he said, That by one Dash of his Pen he had overcome more Enemies than he could ever be able to do with the Sword.

The Expression spoke the Hero; yet it would come with more Advantage from his present Majesty, would he be pleased to assert at this Time his great Prerogative of forgiving; which I dare say he thinks the brightest and most valuable Jewel in his Crown. On the other Hand, the Friends to severe Counsels alledge, it is an easy Matter to harangue upon the Glory of pardoning, but the Practise is not so safe, where a Crown is at Stake. To forgive, say they, is to encourage; for which of the Rebels would not relapse with his Pardon in his Pocket, or after such a Precedent? The Security of the Government dependeth upon a resolute Conduct, not to be aw'd by fear; not to be mov'd by Compassion; not to punish would be to argue Cowardice, at best too much Easiness. Let the Law therefore have its Course, and infallibly we shall soon see the Judge and Executioner will completely tame the Faction.

But in this Scheme, howsoever plausible, I doubt the Consequences are not so clear

as some may flatter themselves. If the Faction be as numerous as is pretended ; if the Spirit hath spread it self over the whole Kingdom ; if it hath mixed with the Masses of the People, then certainly all bloody Measures will but whet Men the more for Revenge : Which, altho' as Things now stand, it need not be apprehended, yet may in the Variety of future Events create no small Danger. It is impracticable in so general a Corruption to destroy all who are Infected, and unless you destroy all you do nothing to the Purpose : But the very Means you apply to remedy the Evil will but encrease it, and that for this plain Reason, because those very Means, or the Apprehensions of them, haye brought Things to the pass wherein they are, and consequently will reduce them from bad to worse.

I conceive it will be readily granted, that this rebellious Spirit hath gained Ground since his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, and not thro' too much Lenity neither ; for to give the Ministers of Justice their due, I think they have spared few or none who have fallen into their Hands ; neither do I impute the Encrease of it to any Rigor or Hardships from the Government ; for that would be to commit a Violence to my own Understanding. But I presume it can justly offend none to say, this Growth of Disaffection is in a great Measure owing to the groundless Jealousies Men entertained of the present Administration, as if they were to expect nothing but Cruelty under it. How those Jealousies were infused is another

ther Question, and not material to the Argument in Hand; and how they have wrought upon the Minds of Men, so as to make them act as they have done, is as little to my present Purpose. But we have seen the Consequences, and the same Causes may another Day produce the same Effects, when they cannot perhaps be so easily obviated.

Never was Prince more universally well received by Subjects than his present Majesty on his arrival, and never was there less done by a Prince to create a Change in People's Affections. But so it is, a very observable Change hath happened. Evil Infusions were spread on the one Hand, and it may be there was too great a Stoicism or Contempt of Popularity on the other.

I suppose the Reason why the great Men at the Helm did not more industriously court the vulgar Applause, was the Conscience that they only aimed at the good of the Publick, and so were the less anxious what Censures might be passed on their Actions by the undiscerning Crowd. Yet it were to be wished the Circumstances of Affairs could have admitted of their being as well in the Opinion of that Crowd, as in their own: Nay I wish with all my Soul they had stooped a little, *ad captum vulgi*, to take in those shallow fluttering Hearts which are to be caught by any thing baited with the Name of Church. But perhaps the Times would not bear it. Perhaps in the hurry of Business it was not thought on. Perhaps after all it did not make for the Ends proposed; yet still we may learn this Observation from it,

that since People flew into such a Phrenzy upon the idle Suggestions and Fears that they were fallen under a rude Yoak, and to be govern'd by a high Hand, what will they do now when they daily see and hear of their Country-men being whipped to Death, led in Triumph, treated with Ignominy, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd? They will never reason that these Things are the due Reward of the Folly or Treason of the Offenders; but tho' a few more hardened than the rest may take delight in such Spectacles, or it may be think they do the Government Service by insulting the Sufferers, yet the Generality will never be brought to believe but that those, who suffer only for Treason, have very hard Measure; nor can you with all your Severity undeceive them of their Error, tho' you may make them wise enough to conceal their Sentiments until a fitting Occasion. Resentment will inflame some, in others Compassion will by Degrees rise into Resentment. This will naturally beget a Disposition to overturn what they dislike, and then there will want only a fair Opportunity. The Quality of the Sufferers, their Alliances, their Characters, their being *Englishmen*, with a thousand other Circumstances, will contribute to breed more ill Blood than all the State-Chirurgeons can possibly let out.

It may be replied, that all this imports nothing. The King is in Possession of the Fleet, the Army, the Treasure, and which is yet of more Moment, of the Hearts of much the greater and more valuable Part of his

his People; which I easily allow, and am only concern'd that he hath one Enemy in England. But would it not be of more Advantage to himself, to his Family, to the Kingdom, to his Reputation at home and abroad, that he should be in full Possession of the whole? If the Reasons I have laid down are of weight, too strict Justice, which hath always been term'd the highest Injustice, may not only keep those averse to him, who are so already, but may also alienate more from him, and for every Head that shall be cut off, deprive him of hundreds of Hearts. Mercy on the contrary can offend none, and may, nay certainly will, gain over Thousands. Is there a Man alive who could take it amiss, that his Majesty thinks fit to pardon those who have injur'd him? In this Instance no one's Eye can be *Evil* because the King's is *Good*; at least I know no one but the Executioner who could reasonably complain of this Proceeding. And are there not infinite Numbers who would become most dutiful upon any fair Invitation, upon the least Appearance of Grace? The King doth not want them, you say, he is powerful enough without them to curb the Stubborness of his Rebel Subjects. He is! Then for that very Reason in my Opinion it would be glorious to receive them to Pardon; for then only Mercy is meritorious when it is voluntary, and not extorted by the Necessity of Affairs.

Beside, as well circumstantiated as the Government is at present, Things may not always remain in the same Posture. In which Case

Cafe the popular Affection would be no contemptible Article. In all Perplexities where-with a Prince may be encumbered, the Love of his People is his best Security, and if I may so say, the surest human Fence against Misfortunes from Heaven; for which Reason, with many others, it hath never been thought Policy for a Prince to reject Opportunities of winning the Affections of his Subjects: Especially when he is but in the Morning of his Reign, when it behoveth him of all Things to make the first Impression favourable, and to set out with a good Grace. And perhaps there cannot be produced an Instance in History of any truly great Prince, who acted upon different Principles. Some, who have filled the World with Slaughter and Conquest, may have proceeded otherwise, but those I am confident are such Examples as his Majesty will not care to follow; such who, while they lived, were never free from Jealousy and Dangers, and when they dyed, left behind them the Reputation of successful Oppressors, together with a Curse to their Family and Posterity.

It is owned the King hath the Army on his Side, and such an Army as both for Officers and Soldiers is hardly to be matched in the World: Yet still it is a Truth, altho' it may in these Times appear a bold one, that he who chooseth to govern by a military Force, doth, upon the Matter, enslave himself; that is, he can expect to be King but *durante bene placito* of the Army; whereas a Prince who reigns in the Hearts of his People is settled on the Throne beyond the

Power

Power of any Malecontents to shake him or his Authority, and upon any Emergency may have as many Soldiers as he pleaseth, and almost as he hath Subjects. But an Army established, and the sole or main Support of any Government is at best a kind of unruly Monster, which when it finds its own Strength, will scarce be content with less than giving Laws. A factious Officer, or the Caprice of the Soldiery, hath often endangered or overthrown a Government, which depended chiefly upon a military Force. The *Pratorian Bands* have given Emperors to *Rome*. The *Janizaries* have deposed and strangled their Sultans, and advanced whom they pleased. Examples indeed very distant from any Thing we have now to fear. But great Events have often owed their Rise to small Beginnings, and that which to Day or to Morrow may seem unlikely, may in Process of Time appear to be a very natural Consequence. The Parliament of *Forty One*, which raised an Army to support their own Liberties, could scarce have imagined that that Army, a Creature of their own, and so entirely at their Devotion, should in a very few Years be made the Instrument to kick them out of all Power, and to subject them to a tyrannical Usurper.

To this I must add, that we cannot well suppose there will always be an Army in being in these Kingdoms. I mean, a Strength sufficient to keep them in due Subjection against their Will. So that tho' we might answer for the Modesty and Fidelity of the Officers and good Disposition of the Soldiers,

qui sunt quodque loquuntur in aliis locis

tho' we were morally certain that no future Temptations or Incidents could corrupt either the one or the other, yet when the Army shall be disbanded, those Inconveniences, which I have already deduced, will occur; and it may be repented too late, that there was not as much Pains taken to make the Government acceptable, as to make it terrible. And when I suppose the Army will be disbanded, I put the best Face upon the present Measures, that they are capable of. Suppose the contrary, and the thought is intolerable. Upon the whole, the Government by a Series of Severities will find it self reduced to this Dilemma; either to perpetuate Oppression and Misery upon a freeborn, and for the most part an innocent People; or at one time or other to be at the Mercy of an incensed Nation. The King must either act eternally in a violent Opposition to the bent of the English, and entail Bondage upon us and our Posterity, by keeping in Pay a sufficient Number of those, who will be Villains enough for Hire to be the Ministers of their Countries Misery; or else he must try to play an After-game, and endeavour to recover that popular Affection, which in the Infancy of his Reign his Counsellors set at naught, and washed off the Minds of Mankind by a Deluge of Blood.

How his Majesty will like to try this Experiment I cannot pretend to say. But it is easy to judge how much the Country will recoil at a Practise of the former Kind, the Country harrassed with Taxes, sunk over Head and Ears in debt, and fixed in Opinion, that instead of ripping up old and provoking

voking new Sores, our Busines had been to have made the Best of Things, as we found them, and taken proper Courses to settle the Kingdom, and eas'd it of some of those immoderate monstrous Debts with which it hath, of late, been very unnecessarily encumbered. This, I take it, is the Sense of the Bulk of the Nation: And if I am not mistaken, even the present Sticklers for Force, for carrying every Thing by a high Hand, for Ruling by Red-coats, will, e'er long, grow heartily Sick of the Oppressions, the Insolence, the Outrages, the Brutalities of Upstarts; not but the Army contains several Men of Honour, but these will not be the Persons employed upon wicked Attempts; whilst there are Footmen, Coachmen, and common Cut-throats enough in it to do the Busines. And perhaps, though for a while, a Government may subsist against the Genius of a People; yet, at length it will be found, that Nature will carry it, and return to its original Form.

It is not improbable all this Reasoning will appear to be meerly Speculative to some, and Ill-grounded to others; and if so, I desire the Friends of the K____ to take this in short with them. If his M____y loseth the Hearts of his People, then it is evident he hath nothing to depend upon but the Army: And if the Army be thus mounted into the Chair of State, and invested with Regal Authority, I desire to know, Whether they will always be controlled by their own Dependant; not to say any Thing of the total Dis-

Disaffection of the rest of his Subjects, but too much provok'd, desperate, prompt to do any Thing to ruin those who ruined them? This, I say, deserves some Consideration.

Wholsome Severities, it may be urg'd, can do the K—— no disservice with his People: He may still retain their Affection, and yet let the Laws have their Course in punishing the Guilty. For whilst he doth not interpose one Way or other, of what Consequence can it be to him, how many or how few are brought to the Scaffold? To which I reply, That tho' I do not know how it is, or why it should be so; yet, the *Dead-Warrant* is always suppos'd to come from the *Crown*, and that when the Crown doth not interpose in Favour of Sufferers, 'tis taken for granted, that it is well-dispos'd to their Execution. I believe also, the World generally concludes, That when a Man can do a Thing, and doth not do it, he hath no Mind to it; or, which is the same Thing, he hath more Mind to something else.

Among all the general Observations of the wisest Princes we know of, I think there is none holds more universally than, *Mercy and Truth preserve a King, and his Throne is established in Mercy.* A merciful good-natur'd Disposition is, of all others, the most amiable Quality, and, in Princes always attended with the popular Love. Clemency in a Prince, is like Generosity in a private Person: It is a Virtue that never comes single; and which, though every Man doth not

not stand in need of, yet, every Man approves, because he doth not know how soon he may want it; or because it is natural, in such a Case, to suppose one's Self in the Place of the Person obliged. Clemency is likewise an Argument of Fearlesness; whereas Cruelty not only betrays a weak, abject, deprav'd Spirit; but also is, for the most Part, a certain Sign of Cowardice. Hence it is a vulgar Remark, That wherever Women are concern'd in robbing, they are the Counsellors of Murthering too; and the Nature of the Thing is the same in greater Matters. The late King *William* acted a very prudent as well as magnanimous Part, upon the Discovery of a Plot against him, wherein some great Men, now living, afterwards his good Subjects, were very deep. He called a consultation of his Friends, some of which urged him to Execute every Man concern'd in the Business: After canvassing the Whole, he dismiss'd his Counsellors, and said to one of his Confidants, *Those People think I have had nothing to do but to come into England to be their Hangman;* and so he let the Thing sleep, as well knowing that Cruelty is not only Odious to all who may be affected by it, but Contemptible in the Eyes of the whole World.

Notwithstanding all that I have ever yet heard upon the Subject, I still think, and I believe I therein speak the Sense of every dispassionate Man of the Kingdom, That the Rebels may and ought to be Pardon'd. Pardon'd, if it be more for the Honour of

the Government to forgive than to revenge; if Mercy be really a *Divine Virtue*, and becoming a Prince; if the Offenders are likely, by Lenity, to be won over to be good Subjects; or if a general Act of Indemnity be the Method entirely to break the Neck of the Party.

When you Reason with Persons disaffected to the Government, and observe to them, how just and mild a Prince adorns the Throne; they challenge you to produce Instances of the least Lenity under the present Administration, from the first Hour it commenc'd, to this Day. Who, that wish'd the Peace of the Kingdom, or the Honour of his Majesty, would not be glad to stop their Mouths with the Particulars where, and when, and to whom such and such Acts of Grace have been vouchsafed? And which of the Rebels could be ungrateful enough to resist or abuse Goodness, exemplified in Practice, as well as extol'd in Theory? at least, if there should be any guilty of such Ingratitude, they would be left without Excuse, and the King could answer it to God and Man that he had done his Part; the Experiment might do much Good, and can possibly do no Harm. Let the People not only hear of the Lenity of the Government, but feel it, and there will hardly be a Heart to oppose his Majesty: But if this be not done, every Man who doth not find his Account in an implicit Faith, will be a rank Sceptick. The Minions of a Court, though never so sensible themselves

of the good Dispositions of the Prince, may grow hoarse with Panegyricks upon his Vertues, and all to very little Purpose towards the Conviction of others, unless we *feel* the Influence of those Vertues. You might as easily have persuaded the Ignorant, That in the late violent Frost and Snow, the Sun was excessively hot, when they were ready to starve with cold. The *Litterati* know the intrinsick Heat of the Sun is always the same, but this Doctrine will not go down with the ruder Sort; in Things of this nature, bare Hearsay or Tradition will not serve the Turn: Most Men require sensible Demonstration.

I own it is impossible to please all Men: When People are dispos'd to find Fault, nothing is done as it should be; and therefore it is, I am for searching into the Fountain Head, and for taking away the Disposition to be out of Humour with the Government: Nor is it a Thing difficult to be atchieved. One popular Act would even yet retrieve all, and much sooner extinguish the *Inclination*, than any Severities can deprive Men of the *Power* to Rebel.

Neither among other Topicks, which are the hourly Cant of our Friends, am I overfond of the Doctrine of making *Examples of Traitors*; whereof I cannot see the vast Use. Can it be of any great Comfort to the Royal Family, to think how much Blood their Succession hath cost the Nation? Will it be a delightful Prospect to have the Heads and Limbs of their Subjects thrown in their Eyes,

Eyes, as they pass through any Town in their Dominions? Is the Reformation of our Calendar to be made by Blood, and the Terms and Seasons to be distinguished by the several tragical Executions? Or is Terror to become the only national Principle? If so, I am afraid it will have no other Effect than to make Men more cautious Rebels, which would be our great Misfortune; but it will never make them better Subjects: To do which, is the most reputable Ambition of a Prince?

To take off the Heads of the Party is likewise another Piece of Policy much in Fashion, and recommended with Warmth and Confidence; although, at the Bottom, it may prove most unwholsome Advice. I grant, a Multitude, without a Head to conduct them, is a contemptible Sort of Enemy; but the Mischief is, they will not long remain without a Head: An enrag'd Populace will find out a *Massinello*, if they cannot procure a Duke of Guise to lead them; and though perhaps their Reign may prove short-liv'd, and they be suddenly crush'd, yet that depends upon a Chance: And beside, in the height of their Rage, they may in an Instant commit that which is never to be remedied.

Again: It is not impossible, nor unlikely, but that some of those Men, who seem now most violent Courtiers, may, from the Fickleness of human Nature, or from other Motives, lay hold of the Disaffection they themselves help to create, and may hereafter set them-

themselves at the Head of those turbulent Spirits which might now be so easily laid. I remember the old Earl of Shaftsbury was the deepest in all the Measures, which gave the first Check to that Tide of Affection that flow'd in upon King Charles the Second, after the Restoration ; yet, upon a slight Disgust, he Tack'd about, Struck in with the Malecontents ; the Popishly-affected Courtier commenced Protestant Patriot. It was then no longer *Delenda est Carthago*, destroy the Dutch ; but, the King is beset with evil Counsellors, and the Dutch are our only true Friends. So little is a Prince to conclude, that the same Men who advise him to any Thing to Day, will not, to Morrow, be the sharpest Animadverters upon his Male-administration, and upon those very Things whereof they were the chief Advisers.

It is in vain to talk to the Winds, or argue against Mens Passions ; and I have no great Opinion of my being able to convert any Man, who cares not what becomes of his King, or his Country, so long as his Ambition is gratified, or he hath a full Revenge on the Authors of his Fears. But on the sober Part of Mankind it must surely make some Impression, to consider our present Circumstances and future Prospect. What one good End, what justifiable Reason can be assign'd for those Violences, which we are either to be very fond of, or to be branded for our Indifference ? Where do those Violences tend ? not to the preserving our Constitution ; for, the fewer Shocks

Shocks it receives, the better it will be preser'd ; unless it be like some old Houses, which, as People fancy, stand the firmer the more they rock in a high Wind. Not to the Honour of his Majesty, for that will be most advanced by the real Marks of Clemency ; not to his Interest, that being inseparable from his Honour ; nor yet to the Advancement of the Protestant Religion ; for I fear, unless we shew more Charity, our Adversaries will not grow much enamour'd with our Reformation.

All Violences in Government tend towards breaking up old Foundations, and when that is done, new Ones must be superinduced. When the Fundamentals of a free State are begun to be changed, no matter by whom, either Anarchy must come in, and then God knows what will follow ; or else absolute despotick Power, and then we all know what is to come next : And whatever alienates the Affections of a People from a Prince, must necessarily create a Concussion in the State. I would fain know what can secure a Prince, who is generally hated, unless it be Arbitrary Power ; and what one Mortal deserves to be trusted without Limitation.

Will any one deny, that those Princes who have unnecessarily put many to Death in their own Quarrel, have not been universally reputed Cruel ? Was there ever a cruel Prince that was not hated by his Subjects ? And can a Prince be odious to his People, and not either be sacrificed by them, or

or make them and their Liberties a Sacrifice? The Transtion from the first to the last Step, is too easie and plain to need Proof.

But all this, you will say, doth not reach the Case before us. I hope not. I should be loath to see Things brought to either Extremity; and I am sure the Way to prevent it, is to deal mildly with those unfortunate Gentlemen concern'd in the Rebellion; some of whom threw themselves upon the King's Mercy, the Promise whereof induced them to surrender; as all of them have need of it: There is a Word which hath of late been much abused, I mean *Moderation*, and I should be sorry to find *Clemency* undergo the same Fate. I hope his Majesty will not suffer himself to be out-done by a Pretender in personating the King. The Pretender declared a general Pardon to all; and shall our rightfull King shew himself lesse the true Father of his People, and afford his Pardon to none of those People, who (like K. Lear to his Daughters) had so great a Confidence in his Vertue, as to give him All? Sure he must have some faithful Friend to let him know the Dispositions of the People, and set before him his own Interest. Was there ever a great, a good, or a happy Prince, that was not Merciful? Is it possible for a Man to sit down and contrive an Opportunity, where Mercy might be displayed with more Glory and Safety to a Prince, than at the present? What hath he to fear from a Conduct of that

D kind?

kind ? What Advantage can he reap by the contrary ? Wherever the good Men the Jesuites have had the Superintendance of Affairs, the Influence of bloody Counsels hath been very Remarkable. Yet the Success hath not answered Expectation. To the Savage Barbarity of the Duke of *Alva* was owing the irreparable Defection of the Seven United Provinces from the Crown of *Spain*. The unpopular Execution of Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, was sufficiently repented of, when it was too late. The Succession of the King of *Navarre* to the Crown of *France* was in a great Measure the Effect of the implacable Malice of the League against him. And the *Western Assizes* in King *James's* Reign, disposed those Countries to receive the Prince of *Orange* with open Arms, and did not a little contribute to the general Aversion towards that unhappy King and his Ministry ; and that brought about the *Revolution* : As if Providence were resolved sooner or later to turn the Weapons of Malice and Revenge upon those, who seem to be the fondest of them. Having mentioned that great Prince, (*Henry the Fourth*) I must observe his Behaviour towards the Rebels engaged against him ; he spared them in the Heat of Battle, and when they submitted, treated them as if they had never offended. The first Night he entred *Paris* he visited the Dutchesse of *Monpensier*, though she had been the Life and Soul of the League, and had injured

him with her Tongue as far as was in the Power of an incensed Woman and a furious Zealot. The Duke of *Mayenne* he made General of his Army ; and did not distrust him the more, that he had commanded Armies against him. He had a truly great Soul, and such will always disdain the Coward's Vertue, which is Fear ; and the Consequence of it, which is Revenge.

One of the greatest of our English Monarchs was *William the Conqueror* ; and he was the greater, because he put to Death only one Person of Quality that we read of, and him after repeated Treacheries ; yet he was a Foreigner, had Power sufficient, and did not want Provocations to have been more bloody. *Richard the Second* was, I think, the weakest Prince recorded in English Story ; so his Reign was almost one continued Scene of Slaughter, from his assuming the Power himself, till he came to be strip'd of his Crown, and soon after of his Life. But it is needless to quote Examples, where common Sense is the best Guide.

The Part the Ministry have to act at present is indeed delicate, as having a great deal to fear, and not much to hope. If they appear on the favourable Side, they may be thought not so Zealous against the King's Enemies as they should be : If they advise Severities, and any Miscarriage, Change or Calamity happen thereupon, they are to answer for it with their

Heads: So that they are to stake their Lives and Fortunes upon the single Point, that let what will happen disastrous, they shall always have the Crown and Parliament of their Party; and it would be well for them if they might take out a Lease of that for Life; or else by proposing moderate pacifying Measures, they are to run the risque of being misrepresented at Court, as too indifferent to the King, and too indulgent to the Rebels, and of being thought throughout the rest of the Kingdom, to be the King's best Friends. To this I have only to say, That if it be in the wrong Place to propose Temper at this juncture, it is however an Error on the right Side. It is indisputable, that no real Evil can spring from that Quarter; and I pretend to tell by advance, that as perhaps some who seem now most eager to harden the King's Heart, may live to stand in need of his Mercy; so those who are for the least confined Mercy, will be found to have advised best for the King's Honour and Safety: By so much as it is far better to correct the ill Humours of a Body by Time, and a sober Regimen, than by unseasonable desperate Practicks to set them afloat, when one doth not know how soon they may settle upon the Vitals.

An Error, on the other Hand, will hang as a Cloud over the Promoters of it: And when it may break, depends upon so many Hazards, that no wise Man will expose himself,

self, without apparent Necessity, to the Storm. Especially when he reflects, That the Will of this Man, a Second, or a Third, or of something yet more uncertain than the Wills of Men, is to determine the Point.

I think it would not be unseasonable for some Men, to recollect what their own Nations were of the Treatment of the *Catalans*; how many Declamations were made, on the Barbarity used towards them by King *Philip*! yet they were Rebels against him; they had own'd his Right, swore Allegiance to him, as much as any of the present Rebels owned King *George*: And, during the whole Course of the War, which ever of them submitted to Discretion, were received to Mercy; nay, even after their obstinate Defence of *Barcelona*, not a Man of them was put to Death, who submitted, or implored the King's Mercy; nor was this Moderation in the Spanish Government to be imputed to Fear, since the *Catalans* were wholly without Allies or any Support; but the pure Effect of a Principle of Policy in a Court and Country, not over-famous for Clemency.

Just as I was entring upon the Consideration, how much it is the Interest of the whole Royal Family, to have their Name and Succession endeared to their People; and that nothing could be of that Service to the *Child that is unborn*, as Acts of Mercy, Generosity and Goodness, I was struck with

with Horror at the News, that in Spight
of the visible and almost universal Inclina-
tion of all Ranks of People, in favour of
their Countrymen, the Impeach'd Lords are
to be Executed.

*Obstupui, steteruntq; coma & vox
faucibus habet.*

F I N I S.